

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03

NASA-01 NEA-11 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01

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E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA

SUBJ: SSOD: YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON NUCLEAR ISSUES IN
PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. ON JUNE 1, VUCOVIC AND MIHAJLOVIC OF YUGOSLAV SSOD
DEL MET WITH KENYON OF UK DEL, NEUBERT OF FRG DEL AND
US DELOFF, AT YUGOSLAVS' REQUEST, TO DISCUSS NUCLEAR
ISSUES IN THE PROGRAM OF ACTION. YUGOSLAVS OPENED CON-
VERSATION BY SAYING THAT A FORMULATION ON NEGATIVE
SECURITY ASSURANCES GOING BEYOND THE CARTER FORMULA WAS
VIEWED BY THEM AS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO SUCCESS OF
SSOD. SUCH AN ASSURANCE, THEY CONTINUED, SHOULD INCLUDE
A RENUNCIATION BY THE NUCLEAR POWERS OF THE USE OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST STATES WHICH HAVE RENOUNCED THE
PRODUCTION AND ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NOTABLY,
BY SIGNING THE NPT) AND WHICH HAVE NO SUCH WEAPONS ON
THEIR TERRITORIES. ON IMPLEMENTATION, YUGOSLAVS SAID
THEY ENVISIONED THAT NUCLEAR POWERS MIGHT FORMULATE A
JOINT TEXT WHICH WOULD THEN BE ADOPTED AS A SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTION. THEY STATED A TREATY ON NEGATIVE
ASSURANCES WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. THEY ALSO SAID THE
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NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCE FORMULATION IN GROMYKO'S
SPEECH TO SSOD WAS INADEQUATE SINCE IT WOULD REQUIRE NON-
NUCLEAR STATES TO "BEG" THE SOVIET UNION TO ENTER INTO
AN APPROPRIATE BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

2. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS, YUGOSLAVS SAID THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT BECAUSE OF

NEED TO MAINTAIN CREDIBLE DETERRENT NATO COULD NOT RENOUNCE FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NONETHELESS, THEY EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM OF FRENCH VIEW THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY IN EUROPE, AND SUGGESTED WEST SHOULD DEVELOP SOME FORM OF A QUALIFIED NON-FIRST USE FORMULA (I.E., NATO WOULD NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS EXCEPT UNDER CERTAIN EXTREME CIRCUMSTANCES, WHICH WOULD BE DEFINED). THEY ALSO ASSERTED THAT THE BANNING OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED IN THE PROGRAM, ALONG WITH THE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AS LONG-RUN OBJECTIVES. NOTING THAT ISSUE OF NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS CLOSELY RELATED TO QUESTION OF NON-USE OF FORCE, YUGOSLAVS QUERIED AS TO WESTERN POSITION ON SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A NUF TREATY. UK AND US DELS POINTED OUT THAT THE NON-USE OF FORCE PRINCIPLE IS EMBEDDED IN THE UN CHARTER AND STATED THEIR GOVERNMENTS TAKE THE POSITION THAT A NUF TREATY WOULD ACCORDINGLY WEAKEN, NOT STRENGTHEN, THE CHARTER.

3. ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, YUGOSLAVS SAID PROGRAM OF ACTION SHOULD GIVE FULLER DELINEATION OF ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES, AND OF HOW NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES WOULD REACH THESE OBJECTIVES. THEY SPECIFICALLY SUGGESTED THAT THE OBJECTIVES TO BE ATTAINED BY SALT III BE DESCRIBED IN SOME DETAIL. US DEL AGREED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE FULLER TREATMENT OF SALT II AND III OBJECTIVES
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THAN IS NOW INCLUDED IN DRAFT PROGRAM, BUT HE CAUTIONED THAT ELEMENTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED PROGRAM FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT POSED SERIOUS PROBLEMS, AS THE US HAD INDICATED DURING DISCUSSIONS AT THE PREPCOMS. IN CONCLUSION, YUGOSLAVS SAID THAT WITHOUT ADEQUATE RESPONSE BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUES THEY HAD OUTLINED, A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY TEXT ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE.

4. ALLIED REPS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR YUGOSLAVS' CANDOR AND SAID THEY HOPE MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY LANGUAGE CAN BE DEVELOPED ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUES. IN RESPONSE TO YUGOSLAVS' QUERY AS TO WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST MECHANISM FOR DRAFTING SUCH LANGUAGE, ALLIED REPS STATED THAT VERY SMALL, INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUPS (WHICH WOULD REPORT TO THE LARGER DRAFTING GROUPS) WOULD PROBABLY BE MOST EFFECTIVE. YUGOSLAVS AGREED. FRG REP, IN ALLUSION TO IRAQI DRAFT RES ON ISRAELI USE OF CBUS AND US/ISRAELI MILITARY RELATIONSHIP, SAID PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS IN DRAFTING SSOD DOCUMENTS WOULD NOT BE ENHANCED BY INTRODUCTION OF SEPARATE RESOLUTIONS. YUGOSLAVS AGAIN AGREED.

5. AFTER DEPARTURE OF YUGOSLAVS, UK AND FRG DELS
SAID THEY HAD BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY US DECISION NOT TO OFFER
FULLER FORMULATION ON NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES AT
SSOD. FRG REP EMPHASIZED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED
PROSPECT OF US GIVING NEGATIVE ASSURANCES AT SSOD. FRG
HAD HAD SOME PREFERENCE FOR UK FORMULATION RATHER THAN
US FORMULATION, BUT THIS HAD BEEN A PROBLEM OF DRAFTING
RATHER THAN OF SUBSTANCE. US DEL SAID HE WOULD REPORT
FULLY TO WASHINGTON ON THESE CONVERSATIONS. YOUNG

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